

NIO # 1713-74

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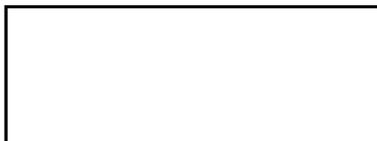
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6 August 1974

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MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

SUBJECT : The Roles of Costa Gomes
and Spinola in the
Portuguese Coup

The attached description of the roles of Spinola and Costa Gomes is now public property, but it is worth reading as a plausible and certainly the clearest statement on this question by one in a position to know.



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cc: DDCI
D/DCI/NIO

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 FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0165
 INFO RUFHRS/USINT ALGIERS 065
 RUQMAB/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 119
 RUTAIJ/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 082
 RUVQBR/AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE 196
 RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 625
 RUFHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 630
 RUEHPCT/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 115
 RUTAANK/AMEMBASSY CONAKRY 241
 RUDKPNQ/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 264
 RUTADR/AMEMBASSY DAKAR 301
 RUVQDA/AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 177
 RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 408
 RUDKHLQ/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 142
 RUTAVC/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 263
 RUTALS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 310
 RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1060
 RUEHPCQ/AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES 1566
 ZEN/AMCONSUL LUANDA 1769
 RUVQBR/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 344
 RUDKMDQ/AMEMBASSY MADRID 1284
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 171
 ZEN/AMCONSUL OPORTO 099
 RUDKSNQ/AMEMBASSY OSLO 253
 RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1500
 RUEHPC/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 355
 ZEN/AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA 488
 RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 699
 RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 166
 RUDKGPQ/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 275
 RUFHAU/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 250
 RUFHNA/USMISSION NATO 659
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 541
 RUCBSAA/CINCLANT
 RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR
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LISBON 3274 TOR:021445Z AUG 74 *2 Aug*

P143

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY
 E.O. 11652: N/A
 TAGS: PINS, PO
 SUBJ: OTELO CARVALHO TELLS PRESS OF ROLE OF GENERALS
 COSTA GOMES AND SPINOLA IN APRIL 25 COUP
 REF: LISBON 3273
 SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOWS AN ACCOUNT BY BRIG. OTELO CARVALHO,
 CHIEF PLANNER OF APRIL 25 COUP, OF ROLE PLAYED BY
 GENERALS SPINOLA AND COSTA GOMES IN EVENTS LEADING UP
 TO COUP AND IN DRAFTING OF MOVEMENT PROGRAM. END
 SUMMARY.

1. CARVALHO CLAIMS THAT BOTH GENERALS COSTA GOMES AND SPINOLA "WERE, FOR LONG TIME (BEFORE COUP), 'INVOLVED' IN MOVEMENT. MOREOVER THESE CONTACTS ALREADY EXISTED IN PAST YEAR." COSTA GOMES ALLEGEDLY FIRST GENERAL ON ACTIVE DUTY TO SUPPORT TOTALLY THE MOVEMENT, WHICH IS WHY "HE IS EXTRAORDINARILY RESPECTED BY ALL OF US." HE WAS FIRST (WHILE ARMED FORCES' CHIEF OF STAFF) TO TELL HIS SUPERIORS (INCLUDING CAETANO) THAT HE AGREED ENTIRELY WITH MOVEMENT'S PURPOSE (COMMENT: PRESUMABLY DURING INITIAL NON-POLITICAL PHASE). MOVEMENT CONTACTED COSTA GOMES "A LOT" IN 1973 AND HE SUPPOSEDLY PLACED HIMSELF ON THEIR SIDE. GENERAL SPINOLA, WHO ON LEAVE UNTIL JANUARY, "ALSO OPPOSED DECISIONS TAKEN BY CAETANO AND ALSO TOLD US HE (SPINOLA) ON OUR SIDE." CARVALHO TOLD INTERVIEWER THAT "THESE TWO WERE GENERALS WITH WHOM WE ALWAYS IN CONTACT SINCE MOVEMENT'S BEGINNING, WHO WERE ON OUR SIDE, AND WHO AIDED US GRATLY."

2. IN JANUARY GENERAL SPINOLA BECAME VICE-CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCES. CARVALHO CLAIMS THEREAFTER HE AND CAPT. LOURENCO WERE MOVEMENT INTERMEDIARIES WITH SPINOLA, WITH WHOM THEY HAD MANY CONTACTS. "WE DISCUSSED THE 'SUBJECT' A LOT, HE GAVE US MUCH ADVICE, ESPECIALLY REGARDING 'WAYS TO ACT.'" WHEN DECISION MADE TO GO AHEAD WITH A COUP. "HE WAS WITH US" ("FICOU A PAR"). CARVALHO MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH SPINOLA (WHO WITHOUT A JOB AT TIME) VIA INTERMEDIARY WHO A FRIEND OF SPINOLA AND IN DAILY TOUCH WITH HIM AT HOME. CARVALHO HIMSELF, FEARFUL OF DGS VIGILANCE, DID NOT DIRECTLY CONTACT SPINOLA AFTER CALDAS. SOMETIME AFTER CALDAS EPISODE CARVALHO TOLD SPINOLA
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COUP PREPARATIONS UNDERWAY, AND DATES APRIL 22-29 GIVEN HIM AS PROBABLY DATES OF ACTION.

3. AROUND TIME SPINOLA TOLD OF COUP PLANS THE MOVEMENT CREATED ITS POLITICAL COMMITTEE, WHICH WAS GIVEN JOB DRAFTING MFA PROGRAM. PRESIDENT OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE WAS COL. VASCO GONCALVES (NOW PRIME MINISTER). OTHERS ON COMMITTEE WERE MAJOR VITOR ALVES (ON COUNCIL OF STATE); LT. COL. CHARIAR (ON COUNCIL OF STATE); LT. COL BRAS (MINISTER OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION); AND MAJOR MELO ANTUNES (NOW MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO AND MAN WHO WROTE MOST OF PROGRAM AS IT TURNED OUT). CARVALHO WAS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN PROGRAM DRAFTING GROUP AND GENERAL SPINOLA. COL. VASCO GONCALVES MAINTAINED LIAISON WITH COSTA GOMES, AND SHOWED HIM COPIES OF DRAFT PROGRAM.

4. GENERAL SPINOLA ALLEGEDLY MADE SOME CHANGES IN PROGRAM DRAFTS AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH GEN. COSTA GOMES. A NUMBER OF REVISIONS AND SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE BY THE TWO GENERALS ON ONE HAND, AND BY PROGRAM COMMITTEE ON OTHER BEFORE FINAL DOCUMENT AGREED UPON ON EVE OF REVOLT. A FINAL VERSION OF PROGRAM GIVEN TO SPINOLA THROUGH INTERMEDIARY AT 2100 APRIL 24, AT WHICH TIME SPINOLA INFORMED COUP ABOUT TO START. CARVALHO MADE CLEAR THAT NO ONE OUTSIDE OF "CAPTAINS GROUP" HAD A HAND IN EXECUTION OF COUP; NEITHER COSTA GOMES, GEN. SPINOLA, AND CERTAINLY NOT (AS SOMETIMES ALLEGED) NATO OR VATICAN.

5. SPINOLA'S BOOK "PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE" HAD NO INFLUENCE OF ANY SORT ON DEVELOPMENT OF MFA, WHICH WAS ALREADY UNDERWAY WHEN BOOK CAME OUT. CARVALHO SAYS HE WAS PERSONALLY UPSET WHEN LEARNING THAT BOOK WOULD BE PUBLISHED BECAUSE HE BELIEVED OBSERVERS WOULD WRONGLY ATTRIBUTE ORIGINS OF MOVEMENT TO PUBLICATION OF BOOK.

6. COMMENT: CARVALHO THROUGHOUT INTERVIEW WAS CAREFUL TO SEPARATE SUPPORT GIVEN BY GENERALS SPINOLA AND COSTA GOMES TO PROFESSIONAL DEMANDS OF CAPTAINS IN 1973 (MILITARY PHASE) FROM THE SUPPORT THEY GAVE MOVEMENT AT LATER STAGE. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WHILE TWO GENERALS WERE ON CAPTAINS' "SIDE" REGARDING MILITARY-RELATED COMPLAINTS, THEY NOT IN ON PLOTTING OUT SUBSEQUENT COUP.

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THEY WERE INFORMED OF PLANS, GAVE UNSPECIFIED ADVICE,
 AND APPARENTLY EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR PLOTTERS, BUT DID
 NOT "INTERFERE" WITH ACTUAL PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF EVENTS
 OF APRIL 25, WHICH WAS ENTIRELY CAPTAINS' SHOW. UNTIL
 OFFICIAL VERSION OF COUP PUBLISHED IN FUTURE (AS WE
 UNDERSTAND IT WILL BE) CARVALHO'S ACCOUNT STANDS
 AS ONLY COHERENT, AUTHORITATIVE VERSION OF ORIGINS
 ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT AND ROLES OF MAJOR FIGURES
 IN IT. POST

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